The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 17, No. 8

October, 1959

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

Review of the Month

School integration continued to creep over the South. Florida fell from the total segregation column, as two schools in the Miami area began integration, leaving only five states with complete public school segregation. Integration began in four more North Carolina communities, two more in Virginia, and one more in Tennessee.

It was progress but snail-paced, and it was all token integration. The *Carolina Times* perhaps summed up the situation in commenting on the fact that admission of eight Negroes to white schools in Durham had been called a "giant step." The *Times* noted that 225 had applied and said: "If it was a giant step, it was taken by a pygmy."

Integration got a setback when a Federal Court of Appeals reversed a lower court ruling ordering three Negroes admitted to the Dollarway School near Pine Bluff, Ark. This upheld the Arkansas Pupil Placement Law and State Attorney General Bruce Bennett called it a major victory.

But in Little Rock, sane forces were again in control, and a series of segregationist bombings of public buildings brought quick arrests of five persons.

The Civil Rights Commission issued a strong report on discrimination in voting, education, and housing. Its most important recommendation called for federal registrars where local ones don't function. (This is the type legislation the Tuskegee Civic Association has been pushing; see story page 4.) Three Commission members also asked a constitutional amendment guaranteeing the right to vote and making age and legal residence the only requirement.

Congress went home without passing any civil rights bills but did extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for two years.

Partial Victory at Highlander

(By Staff Correspondent)

ALTAMONT, Tenn.—Segregationists have suffered a setback in their latest efforts to close Highlander Folk School near Monteagle.

The perpetual witch hunt against the integrated mountain school was renewed in August when state officials asked Circuit Court to padlock the entire institution as a public nuisance.

After a three-day hearing in September, Judge C. C. Chattin ordered the temporary closing of the main building at Highlander. This left most of the school in operation pending further hearing in November.

For 27 years authorities in Tennessee have tried to destroy Highlander by accusing it of being subversive and seditious—first because it supported the cause of organized labor and then because it worked for integration.

Highlander is an adult education center. It strives to develop community leaders through residential workshops to which people come to discuss problems and share experiences.

An effort to close the school by charging it with "subversion" failed in the Legislature last spring. A legislative subcommittee conducted an elaborate investigation and then issued a report in which it grudgingly admitted it could find no concrete evidence of subversion.

One result of the investigation was increased public support for Highlander. State officials then devised a plan for closing the school on moral grounds.

On July 31, as about 40 people were attending a Highlander banquet closing a week-long workshop on community leadership, state and county officials raided the school. They claimed they found a small quantity of whisky in a private home on the school grounds. (Highlander is located in a dry county.)

The officers arrested Mrs. Septima Clark, Highlander director of education and a teetotaler, charging her with illegal possession of whisky. When three students at the school protested her arrest, they were charged with interfering with officers. They are Guy Carawan, folk singer, P. M. Sturges. Jr., New York, and Brent Barksdale, Los Angeles.

A. F. Sloan, attorney general for Tennessee's 18th Judicial Circuit, then filed the petition to padlock the school. He charged that it was engaged in the sale and consumption of intoxicating beverages, was the scene of "loud and boisterous gatherings," and was a place where people engage in "immoral, lewd and unchaste practices."

The charges were in an age-old pattern. Since time immemorial,

(Continued on Page 4)

Write or Wire!

If you are offended by the attack on Highlander, we urge you to write or wire your protest to Gov. Buford Ellington, Nashville, Tenn.

Teachers Integrated

Pressure Brings Change

(By Staff Correspondent)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The schools of this city began a program of teacher integration when classes opened this fall.

The story of this forward step is an example of how people can organize and act effectively for progress.

When Louisville began to desegregate its pupils in 1956, it was widely acclaimed throughout the nation. Many people here felt the integration was somewhat token and left much to be desired, but at least it was a step in the right direction.

But social change can never be static; it either moves ahead or goes backward. Forward-looking Louisvillians refused to fall into the trap of self-satisfaction; they knew they must go further.

From the beginning there was dissatisfaction among Negroes and liberal whites because the desegregation program did not include teachers.

Superintendent Omer Carmichael steadfastly refused to integrate faculties. He said one problem at a time was enough; he feared white parents would object. He angered Negro teachers and fair-minded people in general by a statement in a national magazine that Negro teachers were "less competent" than white.

Impetus for a public campaign came in 1958 when *The Louisville Defender*, crusading Negro weekly, ran a series of articles, based on extensive research and interviews, showing that teacher integration *would* work, that white opinion was not against it, and that Negro teachers *were* competent. The articles were reprinted in pamphlet form and widely distributed here and over the nation.

Negro teachers themselves protested the board policy. The NAACP kept up constant pressure. SCEF board members in the area spoke out. Other liberal groups such as the Urban League and the Council on Human Relations sent a committee to see the superintendent and worked to build public opinion.

The three-year campaign reached a climax this spring when the local Baptist Ministers and Deacons Meeting set up a committee and launched a public drive. The committee was headed by Dr. M. M. D. Perdue, SCEF board member.

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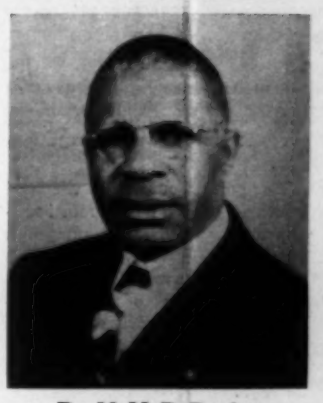

Dr. M. M. D. Perdue
Helps Lead Drive

Front Royal Integrates

It was a day of quiet victory when school opened in the little mountain town of Front Royal, Va., in September.

A victory for the courage and faith of 21 Negro youngsters who attended the 1,000-pupil Warren County High School alone last year while white students boycotted integration and went to private classes.

A victory too for the decency and common sense of many white students and parents.

The private school continues and several hundred whites attend. But on opening day at the public school, 289 white students enrolled with 20 Negroes. By the next day, white enrollment was up to 342; at the end of two weeks, it was over 400.

Mrs. Barbara Marx, Virginia NAACP leader who has been a constant support to the Front Royal Negro youngsters, met with them enrollment day and reported: "There was no unpleasantness at the school . . . no name calling, shoving, or face-making. The children seemed to feel happy and confident. They matured a lot last year."

But neither, Mrs. Marx reported, were the white children making any immediate friendly approaches. The road ahead for the Negro students is still a lonely one. Those wishing to write them should send letters in care of Frank Grier, P.O. Box 290, 1303 E. 13th St., Front Royal, Va.

Alabama Story

A new illustrated brochure on the civil rights movement in America's most segregated city, Birmingham, Ala., has been published with the cooperation of SCEF. The Patriot urges its readers to help distribute it and win support for this struggle. Copies available from the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, 3191 29th Ave., North, Birmingham.

Race Relations Worse?

A Man Who Knows Says 'No'

(By Staff Correspondent)

NASHVILE, Tenn.—Have race relations in the South worsened since the Supreme Court decision against school segregation in 1954?

Some people of good will, viewing present tensions, say they have.

Dr. Herman H. Long, who has been one of the South's leading students of race relations for the past two decades—and also one who has done much to improve those relations—says it's not so.

"There is a changing attitude among Negroes toward themselves and segregation," he explains. "Negroes no longer accept the old definition of their 'place.' Many well-meaning whites cannot understand these new attitudes among Negroes, and this accounts for the belief that race relations are worse."

"The South," he adds, "has been a community of people who haven't ever gotten to know each other. If you are going to have good relations and real understanding, you have to know each other. The white community must define its new situation as Negroes themselves are defining theirs."

Dr. Long is director of the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Christian Church, at Fisk University in Nashville. He has been on the staff of the Race Relations Department since its beginning in 1943 and has served as director since 1948.

But even before 1943, Dr. Long was studying race relations, as a student of sociology and psychology and as a teacher—and before that as a Negro child and youth in a segregated society.

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Dr. Herman H. Long

THIS IS WHY segregationists are after Highlander Folk School. Regularly the school is the scene of workshops where mixed white and Negro panels like this one lead group discussions of the South's problems. School Director Myles Horton is at extreme right.

The Southern Patriot

The Southern Patriot is published monthly except July and August by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., dedicated to ending segregation and discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin. Editorial offices, 4403 Virginia Ave., Louisville 11, Ky.; business offices, Suite 404, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.; office of publication, 150 Tenth Ave. North, Nashville, Tenn. Twenty-five cents a copy, $2 a year. Entered as second-class mail matter, Nashville, Tennessee.

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VOL. 17. No. 8 OCTOBER, 1959

How It's Done

When three whites and two Negroes, just leaving an institute on non-violence and segregation in Atlanta, sat down together in the Dobbs House Restaurant at the city's airport, they were told of course that they couldn't be served together. An assistant manager said the Negroes would have to eat behind a screen.

The group responded politely that they had no intention of separating. Whereupon the three whites ordered three dinners and proceeded to share them with their Negro companions.

"We all agreed that it was the best coffee we had ever had—the extra tang of drinking your coffee interracially across the Georgia color bar is recommended, highly," reported James R. Robinson, executive secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality, who was one of the five. Robinson added that as they ate, no white customer in the restaurant seemed to notice or care.

Dean Gordon Hancock, columnist for the Associated Negro Press, proposes that "rebuttal clubs" be set up in every community. Under his plan, these would be composed of Negroes who would write letters to the daily press countering with facts the propaganda of the segregationists.

He points out that the Old South is engaged in a multi-million dollar propaganda campaign to sell its point of view, but that few Negroes avail themselves of the opportunity to use the columns of the daily press to present the truth. "A letter a day to every daily would work wonders," he says.

The Patriot heartily endorses this plan but suggests that it would also be a good idea for more white liberals who believe in integration to write letters too.

The NAACP Youth Council in Nashville sponsored a city-wide Youth Conference on School Integration before classes started this year. This was to encourage parents to register children in schools nearest them and to discuss ways of overcoming tension and fears in newly-integrated schools.

(The Patriot welcomes reader contributions to this column.)

Baptists Act

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The General Association of Kentucky Baptists, in its annual meeting here, endorsed the most recent SCEF policy statement on civil rights and civil liberties. The statement, adopted by the SCEF board last May, outlines an eight-point legislative program.

'Why I Believe in Integration:'

Kingdom of God Requires It

By SHERWOOD S. DAVIS

(Mr. Davis is a Texas Methodist leader and pastor of a church in Austin. He is an SCEF board member.)

I believe in equal justice and opportunities for all our people, including the integration of our schools, for the following reasons, among others:

1. The very nature and quality of the character of God, as revealed through the life and teaching of Jesus, require it. Jesus came to establish the Kingdom of God, and this includes a society where men are motivated by the Will of God as expressed through love, righteousness, justice, and mercy; and where a premium is placed upon one's ability and willingness to serve effectively as a member of such a society.

The arbitrary restriction of certain persons from the choice privileges and opportunities of life is out of harmony with His Kingdom. God can no more approve of 'favorites' among his children than a wise and loving father can limit the choice privileges to the 'decided blonds' among his children.

The Rev. Sherwood S. Davis

2. My own sense of reality and justice requires me to evaluate persons upon the bases of spirit, purpose, ability, achievement, and future possibilities, rather than upon the dwelling place of one's ancestors, or some physical characteristic. This becomes impossible when a section of the people is forced to go to certain places, or is forbidden to go to others.

3. If America is to meet the opportunities inherent in the global conflict of our day, we must be honest and see that democracy really works within our borders.

4. Whenever any section of our people suffers because it has been treated unjustly, the other section suffers also because it has been transformed into a ruthless, selfish monster; or it has lost its sensitivity to the higher qualities of life through comfortable self-righteousness.

As an essential element in civic righteousness, moral justice, and spiritual integrity, I am in favor of breaking down every racial restriction in American life.

Noah, Not Moses

On this page in the September Patriot, an article debunking use of the Bible to support segregation stated erroneously that "it was a drunken Moses, not God, who cursed Ham and declared him a servant." It was of course a drunken Noah, rather than Moses, who according to the Biblical account cursed Ham. *The Patriot* apologizes to its readers for this error.

Books: Montgomery-Africa-Other Topics

CRUSADER WITHOUT VIOLENCE, A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr., BY L. D. REDDICK, Harper & Brothers, New York, $3.95.

Although it is much too soon for a definitive biography of a man as young as Martin Luther King, Jr., his position as a central figure in the integration movement makes quite apropos a study of his background, philosophy and life, to date. This volume fills this need and is an interesting account. The author is a professor at Alabama State College, Montgomery, and knows King well.

In addition to the biographical story, the book provides interesting commentary on the Montgomery bus protest. *The Patriot* feels that the book is not quite fair in its descriptions of some of the other leaders of this movement. It is almost as if, in a determination to appear completely objective, Dr. Reddick went out of his way to weave in derogatory comments with the good.

Despite this, however, the book is an important document that belongs in the library of everyone concerned with the current Southern scene.

HOPE FOR SOUTH AFRICA, BY ALAN PATON, Praeger, 150 E. 52, New York, $2.50

Imagine a situation in Washington where White Citizens Councils controlled all branches of government and a man with the Neanderthal racial views of Senator Eastland occupied the White House. That dire picture is roughly what has happened to South Africa.

In this slim volume, only 94 pages, Mr. Paton has presented a highly condensed, historical explanation of how and why the present doleful condition developed.

On the hopeful side, the author points to the emergence of the Liberal Party which he heads.

AN HONEST PREFACE AND OTHER ESSAYS, BY WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB, Houghton Mifflin Co., Cambridge, Mass., $3.75.

For forty years Walter Prescott Webb has taught history at the University of Texas. He is now serving as president of the American Historical Association.

This is a collection of essays and occasional pieces, illustrating the earthy wit, the liberal philosophy, and the overriding humanity of one of the two most distinguished and beloved writers and teachers of Texas. The other, of course, would be J. Frank Dobie.

There is an admirable biographical chapter by Joe B. Frantz.

Interracial Meeting Stirs Dallas

Over 1,000 white and Negro Methodists met at Southern Methodist University in Dallas in September for a major conference on Human Relations.

It was historic for the Methodist Church and historic for Dallas. It was called the largest interracial meeting ever held by Methodists. And Carl Brannin, Dallas liberal leader, reported:

"This conference with white and Negro delegates sitting together around tables, eating together in the cafeteria, was something new in Dallas."

The conference was called to discuss the nature of the present racial crisis in the nation and the world and what Methodists can do about it.

After five days of discussion, the delegates adopted a seven-section race relations manifesto calling for integration of churches, schools and neighborhood communities.

Quotations To Remember

"I have grown to despise a particular word. That word is 'compromise.' Have you noticed how everybody is moderate these days? Everybody is rushing toward the middle ground . . . This type of so-called moderate will be caught up and squeezed in the very middle he has created for himself."—**The Rev. Robert McNeill,** white minister who lost his pulpit in Columbus, Ga., because he advocated "creative contact" between whites and Negroes.

"I hold no malice, hate or ill-will for anyone for the unjust suffering I have been caused; it is but a small part of the cost of first-class citizenship."—**Asbury Howard,** Bessemer, Ala., Negro leader, upon his release after serving a six-month sentence on a work gang for advocating the Negro's right to vote.

"The Southern politician generally defends the racial status quo because the race problem is his stock-in-trade. This is essentially what makes a Southern politician."—Southern Regional Council President **James McBride Dabbs,** speaking at North Carolina College's Human Relations Institute.

"Token integration is worse than no integration because it lulls the Negroes into complacency and the good white people begin to think that there is integration."—NAACP Chief Legal Counsel **Thurgood Marshall,** speaking at the annual Race Relations Institute, Fisk University.

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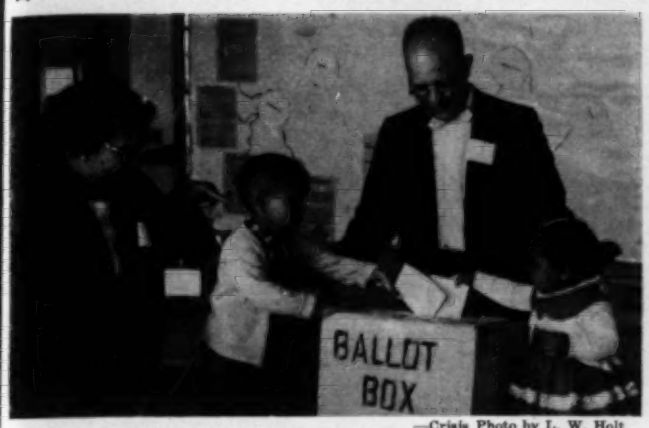

—Crisis Photo by L. W. Holt

EVEN THE CHILDREN in Surry County, Virginia, are learning the importance of voting. Little Julius Conrad Johnson, 3, and his sister, Corlis, 2, came with their mother, Mrs. N. V. Johnson (left), to an all-day voter workshop conducted by the NAACP. Watching and giving instruction is John Brooks, Richmond, southern regional director of the NAACP Political Action Committee.

News In Brief

Negro Voters Startle Memphis

Negro voters made history in Memphis in the recent city elections there.

"We won everything but the election," said Russell Sugarmon, young lawyer who was one of five Negro candidates for city offices. He ran for commissioner of public works.

Around him and the four other candidates was mobilized the biggest "get-out-the-vote" campaign Memphis has ever seen, and one of the biggest ever in the South.

The Negroes ran as a "Negro Volunteer Ticket" with the slogan "This Is A Crusade for Freedom." They forged an organization that cut across party and denominational lines. They were backed by efforts of people in every walk of life and a spectacular turnout of women and young people—and they scared Memphis segregationists to death.

Sugarmon polled 35,237 votes; the totals of the other four ranged from 25,000 to 32,000. In any previous Memphis election, this would have been enough to guarantee election of at least some of the Negro candidates. As it was, however, each of the five ran second in his race; the winning white candidates polled over 50,000.

What had happened was that frightened segregationists went all out to mobilize the white vote in a counter attack. The total vote was the highest ever recorded in Memphis; 73 per cent of registered whites voted. (It was estimated, however, that between 2,000 and 5,000 whites voted for Negro candidates.)

Commented another Negro candidate, the Rev. Ben L. Hooks: "Neither wars, depression, famine nor prosperity has been able to get the white man to vote. The colored citizens did this. Therefore, the colored candidates deserve a vote of thanks from white citizens of Memphis."

Within two days after the election, Negroes were already at work organizing for next time. Their goal: 100,000 registered Negro voters. Sugarmon said: "This is not the end; it is only the beginning."

Meantime, all observers agreed that the results of this election had given every white Memphis citizen a new respect for the Negro population and that, as a result, conditions for the city's Negroes would improve immediately.

* * *

In New Orleans, when an Episcopal clergyman from North Carolina arrived to speak to a meeting of the White Citizens Council, the Episcopal clergy of that city publicly disavowed any connection with his appearance and issued a strong statement criticizing his decision to speak there.

* * *

Bus stations and many train terminals in the South are continuing racial segregation practices in waiting rooms despite federal regulations to the contrary, The Southern Regional Council says in a recent report.

* * *

In Chapel Hill, N. C., the dean of the University of North Carolina Law School, Henry Brandis, resigned in protest from the local School Board when it refused to admit a Negro applicant to a white school. He said the action was "legally and morally indefensible."

Also in North Carolina, a white lifeguard at Macon State Park, Morehead City, resigned his job when the park's ranger told an elderly white woman not to bring her Negro maid back to the beach.

* * *

In Louisville, Attorney Neville M. Tucker served as judge pro tem of the First Magisterial Court, to become the first Negro to sit in a Louisville court having civil jurisdiction. Tucker is the son of the Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, an SCEF board member and presiding Bishop of the A. M. E. Zion Church.

* * *

After 12 years in prison, Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons were paroled in Georgia. Their murder conviction, after they defended themselves from the attack of a white man, brought world-wide protests that saved them from the electric chair; many Georgia citizens, both white and Negro, as well as residents of other states, worked faithfully through the years to secure their release.

Autumn In the South: A Season of Courage

School opening in the South again this year brought inspiring stories of human courage. Here are a few of them:

Jeff Thomas was one of the nine Negro students at Little Rock's Central High in 1957-58. Like the others, he was taunted constantly and one day a white student came up behind him, hit him on the head, and knocked him out.

This fall, when Central reopened, Jeff was there. His mother recalled to reporters that after the attack she had urged him to withdraw. She said he looked her straight in the eye and replied: "Mom, I'm going back there as long as I'm able to walk." And he has.

* * * *

When Miami began token integration in its Orchard Villa School, located in a changing neighborhood, most of the white students withdrew. But some stood firm.

Mrs. Corinne Perrini, white mother of three, said her sons didn't object to integration but had wanted to transfer because their "buddies from last year" were now in other schools.

"I told them they were going to Orchard Villa because it was the school nearest their home. I said they could make new friends. If it were left to the children, there wouldn't be any segregation . . . They have to be taught to hate."

* * * *

Also at Orchard Villa, two professional segregationists stationed near the school tried to persuade another white parent, Charles Arnold, not to enroll his two children. Arnold said:

"I'm stubborn as an old stump. I believe I'll leave my kids in this school. I don't want to hurt anybody's feelings . . . I get along fine with my neighbors."

Race Relations Expert Describes Progress

(Continued from Page 1)

Born in Birmingham, Ala., Dr. Long describes himself as a "Southerner by birth and a hybrid by environment." He was a small child in Birmingham at a time when "race relations" were truly at one of their worst points. It was just after World War I, and city police were shooting Negroes in cold blood. Knowing no other way to fight back, Negroes had begun to shoot a white man for each Negro who was killed.

Dr. Long's family, like many others, left Birmingham in desperation. They went to Chicago. But his father, a railroad fireman, could not get work there and later went back to Birmingham, commuting between there and Chicago. The family stayed in Chicago.

It was by accident that Dr. Long went back South—when he got a scholarship to Talladega College in Alabama. There he became interested in psychology and sociology and began to search for scientific answers to the social problems that were a part of his life.

After graduate work at the School of Religious Education of Hartford Seminary, he taught at Miles College in Birmingham and there did a study of the effect of segregation on Negro personality.

He had just completed his work for his doctorate at the University of Michigan, under a Rosenwald Fellowship, when he went to Fisk to help set up the Race Relations Department. This department was started as an attempt to do something constructive about the racial tensions of the World War II period.

Through the years it has made a distinguished contribution in the South by helping Negro and white leaders in many localities do community self-surveys to define their problems in race relations—on the theory that if people see the facts they will act to improve the situation.

Dr. Long says there is a distinct difference between the tensions of the early 1940's, when the Department began its work, and the tensions in the South today.

"The tension of the World War II period came because of a failure of our democratic ideal," he explains. "The present tension is because we are moving ahead and progress is being made."

Dr. Long sees great hope in the "cropping up all over the South of previously unheard of Negro leaders—people who just decide to take a stand for themselves."

"How do you explain," he comments, "the Montgomery bus protest? How do you explain Rosa Parks, the quiet little seamstress who literally electrified an ultra-conservative plantation-oriented little town, deeply drugged in the aroma of magnolias?

"How can you account for the Negro parents of Little Rock? Or those in Clinton, Tenn., who with limited resources, no strong church backing, no labor support, no liberal support, virtually alone took their stand? And not only in the dramatic instances but in places nobody hears of these people are arising."

He concludes that the potential for this development has long been present—and that present circumstances have given it a chance to express itself.

Another indication of the strength of Southern Negroes, Dr. Long says, is the mushrooming of many independent organizations working for full citizenship — "improvement clubs," "civic clubs," etc. Still other indications are the "awakening of the Negro minister to a really effective role," the "awakening of the Negro professional to his important role in the struggle," and the shift from dependence on the white community to an attitude of independence on the part of the Negro community.

A key factor in the new situation, he points out, is the attitude among Negro young people. The average Negro youngster these days, he says, is growing up with very few self-conscious racially inferior attitudes.

"My generation of parents," he explains, "is not telling our children—as our parents told us—that they have to subject themselves to every whim or fancy of the white community."

All these changes in the Negro's outlook naturally have a profound effect on the white community, Dr. Long points out. The traditional white leaders stand to lose out and they must make a last-ditch effort to maintain themselves. But even among whites who theoretically believe in equality there is "ambivalence and mixed feelings."

"They think well of the efforts of the Negro to achieve first-class citizenship, and yet they are not quite ready to accept the actual fact," he notes. "They don't understand the new Negro, he doesn't fit into their pattern. This accounts for the fact that many good white people criticize the NAACP."

But all-in-all, Dr. Long considers the situation in the South today better than it has been at any point in the past—two years ago, five years, 10 years, 20 years ago.

"The very fact that there is ferment is good. The worst problem are those we don't talk about," he says. "The present crisis means the issue is now inescapable and must be faced."

This is not to say, he emphasizes, that progress will continue to come automatically.

"Things don't happen unless people make them happen," he states. "There is always a danger that things will stagnate and begin to move backward—especially if people become satisfied with too little progress."

This is one reason Dr. Long feels that SCEF, of which he is a vice-president, is important.

"Here is a group of Southerners who will continue to push for progress and change—a core of dedicated and unwavering liberal white and Negro leaders," he says. "Without the existence of SCEF, there would be no other vehicle for the expression of white opinion which does not hedge its position by if's and but's, but has an abiding faith in the ability of the South to generate progress.

"Here are people who don't believe our region is lost or hopelessly compromised by the past and segregation but maintain their faith that the South can bloom into a region where Negroes and whites will live together in complete equality."

Librarian Balks

SHREVEPORT, La. — Two children's books, under attack by local segregationists, are still in circulation because Inez Boone, librarian at the Shreveport Memorial Library, refused to bow to pressure.

One book is "Black and White," a whimsical story illustrated by drawings of a white woman and black man. The other is "The First Book of Fishing," which shows pictures of white and Negro children picnicking together.

The Shreveport Journal described the books as "insidious racial propaganda" and demanded their removal. Miss Boone met with the mayor and the library board of control and told them she'd rather close the library than bow to "censorship of a sort which would never end."